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1/26/77

New Directions for the Seventies



Address of
Rep. Gerald R. Ford,
R-Mich., Republican
Leader, U.S. House
of Representatives,
NLI 26th Annual
Convention

Thank you very much, Armen. Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. It's a great privilege and very high honor to participate in this program. I might say, parenthetically, that one of the nice things about attending meetings such as this is meeting old friends and reminiscing about acquaintanceships. Seeing Hank, here, brought back many, many fine memories. I must admit we agreed that the campaign in the Pacific in World War II was shortened considerably by our joint efforts.

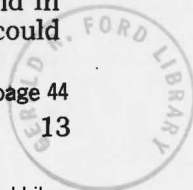
As all of you know, a new Congress was elected in November, and the new 92nd Congress convened last Thursday. You may or may not know that in the process of organizing the House of Representatives we go through a ritual where the minority party nominates its candidate for Speaker, and the majority party nominates its candidate. Of course, the decision as to who will be Speaker is really made by the American people, months before. But this ceremony does take place. Also, one of the traditions on the opening day of

Congress is that the minority party's candidate for Speaker has the privilege, and it is a privilege, of introducing to the other members of the House the winner of the Speakership contest. I had the privilege of doing that three times for former Speaker McCormack, and I had the honor last Thursday of doing it for our new Speaker, Carl Albert of Oklahoma. In the course of my remarks, I naturally praised Carl Albert, for whom I have nothing but the highest respect and admiration. But I thought it might be interesting to interject a little humor. So in the statement of introduction I said that I had checked the records of history, and that, although we had had forty-eight other Speakers in our history—from Massachusetts, Illinois, Tennessee and other states—I found that there had never before been a Speaker from Bug Tussle, Oklahoma.

Then I indicated that one of my favorite musical comedies was "Oklahoma." I'm sure that is shared by many, many people in this audience. I remarked that as I was shaving the day of the Speakership contest, I was humming to myself one of the superb songs from "Oklahoma." The words came out this way, "Oh, what a beautiful morning; oh, what a beautiful day; if I had forty more votes in my pocket; things would be going my way."

The mention of elections reminds me of another election back in 1966. On that occasion, we, on our side of the aisle, did considerably better. We succeeded in electing fifty-nine new Republicans, a net gain of forty-seven. Prior to the convening of the Congress in January of 1967, I thought it would be a great idea if we could get all of the newly elected Republicans and their wives together with the leadership and our wives at a conference center just outside of Washington, D.C., called Airlie House. There we could talk about parliamentary problems and legislative matters. And in the course of a two day get-together, we could become better acquainted with one another.

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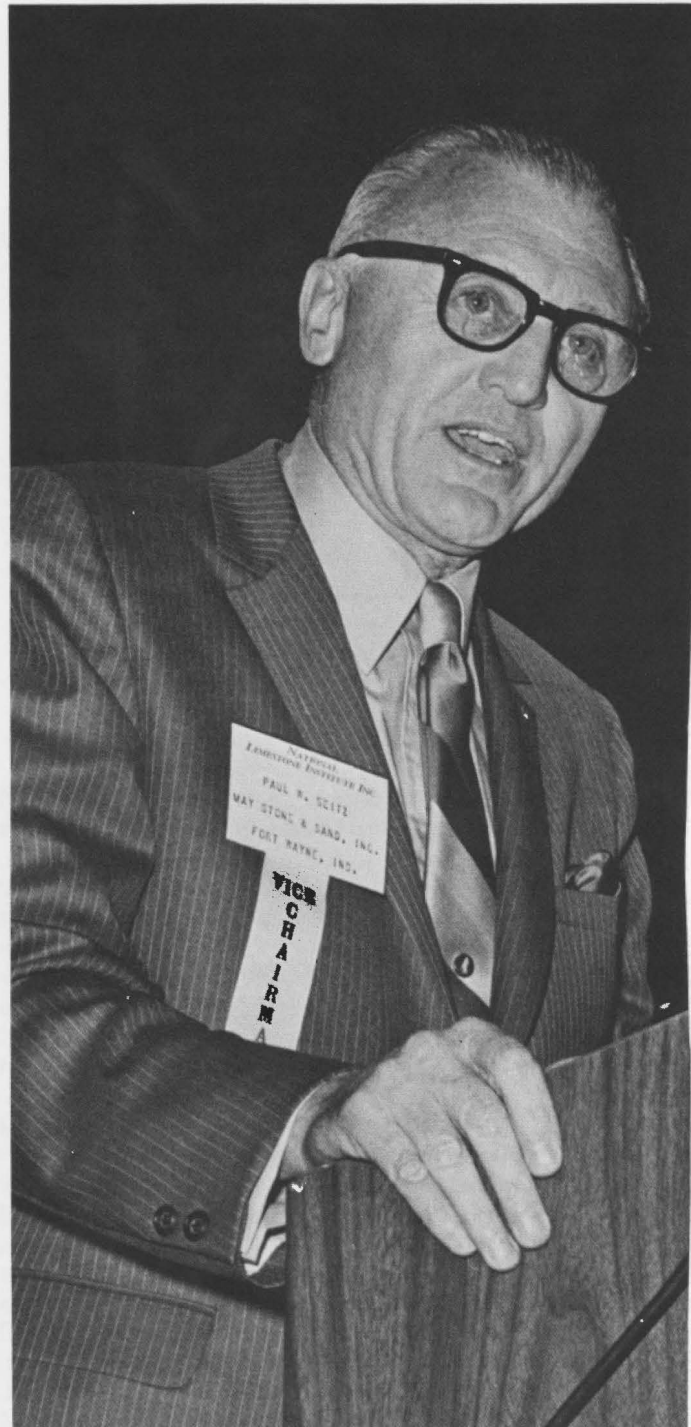
Chairman Paul W. Seitz Relinquishes the Chair

President Koch, Reverend Stone, Distinguished Members of the Congress, Guests from Industry and Government, members and lovely ladies:

There's a story about the stone masons working on the Washington Cathedral. A man, passing by, who must have been a sociologist said to one worker, "What are **you** doing on this building". He answered, "laying stone". The next man, asked the same question said, "working for four dollars an hour". This must have happened a long time ago. A third worker responded to the question: "I'm building a cathedral".

I like to think that the members of our association are like the third workman. We are helping to build highways for safe travel, public and industrial buildings for the efficient operation of government, industry and commerce, libraries, educational buildings, churches and hospitals for the cultural enrichment and welfare of all people. Our industry is the sole source of the basic materials, the stone and mineral aggregates, for all of the construction which marks the progress of our nation. And we take that responsibility seriously.

This occasion is the most auspicious event of the annual convention of the National Limestone Institute and we are happy to have so many distinguished guests. The year just ended has been a busy one, and a very rewarding one for me, your chairman. And I would like to pay special tribute to our President Bob Koch whose talent for enlisting cooperative effort and whose uncanny capacity for accomplishment has made many good things happen for N.L.I. this past year.



or five years after they've been done. For example, we'll strongly emphasize cost-sharing for permanent vegetative cover, rather than annual cover crops.

Another standard for evaluating projects will be community benefit.

Over the years, in order to accomplish particular conservation goals we have sometimes cost-shared practices that were profitable to the farmer in and of themselves. We probably will not be able to do this in the future.

These changes have already been taking place over the years, as many of you know. For instance, years ago we used to cost-share summer fallow . . . back when it wasn't a widely-valued practice. As it came to be accepted in summer-fallow areas as simply good management, we stopped cost-sharing it.

In recent years the program shifts have been more rapid. The

Congress and the other public agencies in the field have helped to keep the program effective.

The basic reason for all of the changes in our cost-sharing program, of course, is to keep it current with the times . . . with the needs of the country. Any program that is not kept up to date endangers its support and its future.

The nation's concern today is shifting from crop acres to green acres. Our citizens today worry more about the silt that washes downstream than about the gully it came from. And we're concerned today with new problems such as chemical residues, over-fertilized lakes and the waste products from huge "animal-factories."

We have recognized these changing problems. The Congress has recognized them. To keep up with these changes, we are changing the thrust of our conservation cost-

sharing program. The Rural Environmental Assistance Program can play an important role in helping farmers eliminate agricultural pollution.

This kind of program thrust will benefit not just farmers but all our citizens.

Your industry, of course, will be supplying the agricultural lime that is absolutely necessary for much of this anti-pollution and conservation work. In doing so, you are playing an important part in restoring what President Nixon has called the birthright of every American . . . clean air, clean water and open spaces. ●



We convened at Airlie House, and at the opening luncheon, I was asked to say a few words. After spending 1965 and 1966 outnumbered 285 to 140, I was delighted to see such a substantial increase in numbers on our side of the aisle. As I looked out and saw these fifty-nine new Republicans, attractive, articulate, and able, I gave the impression I was happily clucking over my new brood. The next morning I got up bright and early, and went down to breakfast. As I walked into the dining room, somebody handed me a copy of the *New York Times*. I quote literally from the front page story on our Republican meeting, the lead article, first sentence which said, "Congressman Jerry Ford, House Republican Leader, was happily clucking over his new brood." Well, I thought it was amusing that a great newspaper like the *New York Times* could make a simple typographical error of that kind. But I passed it off by kidding the correspondent for the *New York Times*, and went on about my business. When my wife, Betty, came down for a late cup of coffee and a sweet roll, she walked into the dining room and some friend of mine immediately showed her the front page story in the *New York Times*. I conclude by saying that I have yet to satisfactorily explain who that new brood is.

Let me say that in my remarks here today I will present a short resume of what the last Congress did, and, two, point out the relevance between what a President recommends and what a Congress does—the results that can be achieved. Then I will discuss some of the things that are already on the Congressional agenda for 1971-72.

In the last Congress, which was controlled by one political party whereas the White House was controlled by the other, a careful analysis of the record indicates that in 1969 and 1970 the Congress approved approximately 75 per cent of what President Nixon recommended. That's an extremely high percentage. If you compare this with the record of previous Congresses in the last decade, you find that the last Congress—despite the fact that we had a divided government—responded in a meaningful way to the legislative proposals recommended by the President.

On the other hand, some things were left undone, and one of the reasons I was late coming to the luncheon this noon was that President Nixon sent to the Congress today a message that I have in my hand. I won't give you the details, but it recites thirty-six proposals submitted in the last two years that were not acted upon. I'm confident that as we move ahead in this Congress, the leftovers will in the main be approved by the new House and by the Senate.

One of the hallmarks of success of the last Congress was the eventual approval of a strong anti-crime package. In 1969 and 1970 the President submitted a very broad based anti-crime program, some thirteen bills. After some delay, all or most of those proposals were approved in

one form or another. They were approved not only because of the President's interest, but because fighting crime has become a matter of major importance and the greatest urgency.

We now have on the statute books, for example, a greatly expanded Safe Streets Act. Under this Act the Federal Government makes financial contributions to the State and Local Governments, so that the work of State and Local law enforcement agencies can be improved. The level of aid in this legislation, which was enacted in 1967, has been expanded by almost 300 per cent. In the first year of its operation, some 67 million dollars was passed on to State and Local agencies for law enforcement improvement. For fiscal 1972, the President has recommended \$698.4 million. In order to undertake massive and effective action against organized crime, the Department of Justice needed new tools to meet the challenge of the most sophisticated criminal element in our society. Congress finally has passed that legislation. Now I'm confident we will begin to see meaningful results against this sinister element in our society.

We're all cognizant of the rising problem of drugs and narcotics. This is an area of law enforcement where we have responsibility divided between the Local Level, the State and the Federal Government. Federal legislation in this area, up until last year, was somewhat outmoded. The President recommended, and the Congress finally approved, a drug abuse control law. It has some strengthening provisions. It provides harsher penalties for the professional pusher and peddler. It provides greater flexibility in sentencing the initial user, particularly the young. It emphasizes rehabilitation for those in that category. And it takes out of the Department of Justice the responsibility for drug abuse education and rehabilitation, as it should. It transfers these two responsibilities to the Department of HEW. This is good, strong legislation. And I think the Federal Government's role as a consequence will be strengthened.

Now let me point out where you can see a direct correlation between a President's recommendation, approved by the Congress, and the result. Last year, after a long, long hard fight, we passed showcase anti-crime legislation for the District of Columbia. It's tough, don't let me mislead you. It has some strong provisions that were fought by well-intentioned, but I think ill-advised, individuals. That legislation has contributed significantly, I think, to the announcement you may have seen in the newspaper this morning. In the District of Columbia in 1970, for the first time in a decade or more, the crime rate in the city went down rather than up. What I'm saying is that there is a direct correlation between what a legislative body does and what can be accomplished in our society. Here's concrete evidence. I'm the last to say that this decrease in the crime rate is the exclusive result of this particular action by

the Congress. However, I can assure you that the fact the Congress passed a tough anti-crime bill did have an impact on those who, over a period of ten years, have continuously and unceasingly violated the rights of others in the District of Columbia. I hope and trust that the other anti-crime legislation I have mentioned has a broad impact nationwide, and will have the same results in your state and in mine.

Now, if I might, I'd like to return for a minute to the programs and problems that the new Congress faces. I'll never forget the first day I came to Congress, in January of 1949. I had been a renegade. I had committed what, in many areas of politics, is an unforgivable sin. I had run against a ten-year incumbent in the Republican primary. He was somewhat older than I, and I had just gotten out of the service. I probably had more courage than brains, but nevertheless, I ran against this GOP incumbent and I won. So I came to Congress in a delegation from Michigan that had many senior members. I was apprehensive. I walked into the House Chamber and I sat down by one of our most senior Republicans from Michigan, concerned about how I would be welcomed. He was a wonderful, kindly gentleman, for whom I had nothing but the greatest admiration. I said "Good Morning." He turned to me and he said, "Jerry, do you know the definition of a Congressman?" I said "No." He said, "A Congressman is the shortest distance between two ears." Well, I've survived a few of those cracks. But believe me, the fact that a Congressman has to go back and face the voters every two years is one of the strengths of our Federal Government. I would be the last to vote for any change in the term of a Congressman. Sure, it would be more convenient to run every four years rather than every two years, but I am not concerned about what's convenient for me or 434 other Members of the House. If the term is changed from two to four years, it cuts in half the opportunity the voters have to make a change in their government. It is more important that the voters retain that right than that someone be concerned about the convenience of 435 members of the House of Representatives.

Now we turn to a new Congress, with the President in the second half of his four-year term. And the tone of what we'll be facing is best indicated by what the President recommended in his State of the Union message last Friday night. As you know, he said he would not discuss foreign policy on that occasion, but that he would make a subsequent report to the Congress. Total emphasis was on our domestic problems and what he felt he, as President, should ask the Congress to do—chart some new courses, new programs, in the next two years.

First on the list of six was a renewed call for welfare reform. You may recall the House of Representatives last year passed a welfare reform

bill by an overwhelming margin. The version that we passed got caught in a legislative snarl in the Senate in the dying days last year. I know it's a controversial proposition, and I know that many good people have many questions about the so-called workfare program. But let me ask you, in all sincerity, this question. Is there a person in this room who will stand up and defend the present welfare program? I've asked that question in fifty states, and I have yet to find a person who will defend the present welfare program, and for a good reason. It's getting ever more costly, and the costs which we see today are virtually double what they were a few years ago. According to projections by the so-called experts, they will double again.

So the present system is not only costly from the point of view of the taxpayer, but it has another feature that is totally un-American. It tears families apart. Financially, it's better for families to be divided under the present welfare system, and there is no incentive for a family to extricate themselves from welfare. In fact, there's a deterrent. So, if these points are true, and I doubt if many people will argue to the contrary, shouldn't we do something affirmatively about the welfare mess? Shouldn't we get rid of it? Shouldn't we devise a program that will provide an incentive for work, provide an incentive for a family to extricate themselves from the welfare cycle—as the President's program does? Shouldn't we have, within the structure of the law, an incentive for families to stay together, not to separate—as the President's program does? And shouldn't we try to at least level out the cost of the program?

It is obvious we have to do something affirmatively. Maybe there's a better answer than what the President has recommended, but I've seen no one propose it. So, let's be innovative, imaginative, and try something that has a work incentive, that requires a person to work before he gets any assistance, if he's physically able to do so. Shouldn't we try something that stabilizes the family rather than tearing it apart? I think the Congress will respond. I applaud not only what the House did last year, but what I think the House and the Senate will do in 1971 and '72.

Another point in the President's message last night was the budget that the President is submitting on Friday. I haven't seen it, so I'm not qualified to talk about the details. But from everything that I've heard, I can say, one, it provides for no new Federal taxes. Secondly, it is a budget that will emphasize a continued effort to decrease the rate of increase in the cost of living. It is a budget that will perhaps shock some people. But I believe that when you look at the cyclical impact, where we are expanding our efforts to improve the economy, we can expect a deficit larger than I and many others believe in. But if we get full employment, as is anticipated, then that deficit will be eliminated.

Let us talk about the third point in the President's message. I speak here of revenue sharing. This is an extremely controversial proposal. Some of my best friends in Congress, both Republicans and Democrats, do not share the President's view. I happen to believe in it. Revenue sharing is an idea whose time has come. I was reading the paper the other day, and I noticed that the newly elected Democratic Governor of Pennsylvania has said his state is on the verge of bankruptcy. I have read other papers throughout the country quoting one Mayor after another as saying that his community is nearly bankrupt. This is understandable. The States and local governing units have just about reached the breaking point on local and state taxes. Yet the demand for services continues. I'm not saying that states and local governments now should turn to the Federal Government on the basis that Uncle Sam has an unlimited reservoir of dollars. That's not true. But the fact is that the Federal tax system is so structured that as the Nation grows, and as we employ more and more people, Federal revenue grows rapidly. State and local governments don't have that growth factor in their tax structures. And so as the economy expands there is a growth in Federal revenue from 4 to 8 billion dollars a year without any increase in Federal tax rates. So it is the view of many experts in this area that some of this money should be returned to the states and local governments. And so at the state and local level decisions can be made as to the priority of programs or projects needed at that particular level.

Under the present system, the federal government expends vast amounts of money for local and state needs under categorical grant programs. Categorical grants started 10 or 15 years ago in a very small way. I think the first year the amount of money Uncle Sam passed out to local and state governments was under half a billion dollars a year and there were less than 100 programs. But categorical programs have grown like Topsy. Today the Federal Government passes out to state and local governments about 30 billion dollars a year in over 500 categorical grant programs. What it means is that the federal establishment to a substantial degree is making important decisions at the local level. I happen to think that local officials in San Diego know the problems of San Diego and its priorities infinitely better than someone here in Washington. Certainly the priorities in Grand Rapids, Michigan, my home town, are different from those in San Diego, and the local elected officials ought to have some responsibilities for determining those priorities.

Under the President's program of revenue sharing, 5 billion dollars a year would be divided among the states and the local communities on a formula based on population and the tax effort of those states. It would grow over a period of years as the economy expanded and the tax take increased. In my judgment, this is good legisla-

tion. It will help to relieve the problem of high real estate taxes in the local communities. It will obviate the need for the states to add to their tax burden. And it will not add to the tax burden at the Federal level. I think there are substantial advantages to the program, apart from decision making at the local level.

The fourth point in the President's program is of maximum importance. The new programs that will be submitted to improve our environment have not been delineated because a message will be coming to the Congress with the specifics within the next week or so. We had a briefing yesterday at the White House, and I can say that they're broad, they're new, and they are going to be firm. So the Federal government, to the degree that it is involved in terms of money, regulations, and research, will have a good environmental program.

Health, point number five, in the President's State of the Union message, was highlighted by a Presidential request for an additional 100 million dollars to expand the fight against cancer. We have a number of wonderful National Institutes of Health; Arthritis, Mental Health, Cancer, etc. They're superb organizations. They do a great job, and we've been spending close to a billion dollars a year in the whole group over the last several years. But the families of many have been touched by the tragedy of cancer. In Washington one of the great citizens of the community and of the country, Vince Lombardi, died in the last six months. This 100 million dollars is not insurance that cancer will be licked, but it will be licked, but it will be about a 70 per cent increase in federal research directed at finding the answer. I'm confident that in this area, as in the area of polio, with adequate funds and sufficient technical people we will find an answer that will eliminate cancer as a scourge of our society.

The last presidential proposal, which is probably the most controversial, is the restructuring of the Federal Government. We now have 11 cabinet posts. The President's proposal is to go from 11 to seven, and to shift many, many agencies into four new cabinet departments. This is controversial. But let me just make this observation. We've had two Hoover Commissions which recommended that departments be revised, that changes be made. President Johnson appointed the so-called Heinemann Commission which was supposed to take a look at the structure of the Federal Government. The Heinemann Commission recommended reorganization of the Executive Branch much along the lines proposed by the Ash Commission, which President Nixon appointed. These recommendations provide for substantial change in the organizational structure of our government. There are many who will be in opposition. I don't know the attitude of this organization. But I say that it might be wise, before you make a decision,

to wait and see the specifics, because you might be far better off under the proposed set-up as an organization, as individuals, than under the existing. No government should be satisfied with the status-quo. Governments never progress and meet the needs of their people if they do business in the same way from time in memoriam. I say to you, be open minded until you've seen the specifics. When you have, you might well be more pleased than with the present system.

I close with these final observations. I know that many people believe government is an ogre—that there is great dissatisfaction with our government at the local, state, and federal levels. But I happen to be an optimist. I believe our form of government can be responsive to the new decade, and can be responsive to the needs of 204 million people.

When I speak like this, I often recall a statement that was attributed to Sir Winston Churchill. Churchill is reputed to have said: "Democracy is the worst form of government in the history of mankind, but it is better than any other that's ever been tried." Then there was an incident that occurred at the time of the Constitutional Con-

vention in the City of Philadelphia. Some fifty-five delegates from twelve of the thirteen colonies met in the City of Philadelphia to put together a constitution for a new country. And after much deliberation and many compromises they finally concluded their labors with a governmental document which is the greatest in the history of mankind. As Ben Franklin walked out of Constitution Hall, a by-stander asked him: "Mr. Franklin, what have you given us, a monarchy or a republic?" And Franklin responded, "We have given you a republic if you can keep it."

Your forefathers and mine have kept a republic for us for almost two centuries. They've passed on to us a better society and a better government. We should be thankful; we should be grateful, blessed as we are with what we have.

I say now it's our responsibility, yours and mine, and the responsibility of millions like us throughout the country, to make sure that what we have inherited is passed on to those who follow and in better form than we received it from our forefathers. I know we can. I know we will. Thank you very much. ●



continued from page 20

coal mines for only about 5½ months—since August 1, 1970. The delay was caused by the rather deliberate way in which the standards were developed and promulgated. First, a comprehensive study was made of the hazards and accidents in the industry, and then three advisory committees comprised of representatives from labor and management and from State and Federal agencies developed three sets of standards for underground mines, open pit mines, and sand and gravel operations, respectively. These standards were then proposed as rulemaking by the Secretary of the Interior and most of them were subsequently promulgated. Although they were proposed and promulgated in several different issues of the Federal Register at several different times, they all became effective on July 31, 1970.

A few of the standards that were proposed but not promulgated have been given back to a new advisory committee, recently appointed by the Secretary, for further review and recommendation. This new committee can also recommend new standards that were not considered by the earlier committees.

As of today, we are presently inspecting noncoal mines against 960 mandatory and 775 advisory health and safety standards. In 5½ months, we have made about 1,600 inspections of noncoal mines and cited about 8,300 violations of mandatory standards.

We believe that we have sent copies of these standards to all noncoal mine operators. However, additional copies can be obtained from the Bureau of Mines here in Washington or from one of our District offices located in Pittsburgh, Birmingham, Denver, Minneapolis, Dallas and San Francisco.

We presently have about 100 noncoal mine inspectors and we are planning to build this force to a level of 250. A high proportion of our inspectors are engineers, and in many situations, they can provide assistance as well as enforcement to mine operators. This year, we plan to inspect every underground noncoal mine at least once and about 1,500 surface mines.

Our experience to date in enforcing the standards has not been enough to allow a good evaluation of their effectiveness, but in general we have not encountered many problems. We have encountered some. For example, a standard which prohibits gasoline from being taken underground is a problem in some underground limestone mines using automobiles, trucks, and other equipment powered by gasoline engines. We are presently working on this problem with the affected mine operators to determine whether the gasoline engines can be allowed to continue to be used in such mines under conditions that will provide no less safety to the mine workers. There is sufficient flexibility in our regulations to allow variances from the prescribed standards where the safety of the workers will be no less assured.

The response of your industry to Federal health and safety regulation has been good when the standards have been called to the attention of particular operators. It is apparent, however, that some operators have not as yet read the standards carefully. Needless to say, they should do this, or they will be caught unprepared for our inspections.

Unlike the coal law, the Federal Metal and Non-metallic Mine Safety Act provides that the Secretary may enter into agreements with the States to allow the States to enforce their own mine health and safety standards within their own boundaries. In order to obtain such an agreement, however, a State must assure the Secretary that its standards and its enforcement of those standards will be substantially as effective as the Federal Government's. Under such an agreement, the Bureau of Mines would still inspect the mines occasionally, but mainly for the purpose of monitoring and evaluating the effectiveness of the State inspections.

Because we want the State Plan Agreements to work, we are being rather hard and strict in requiring the States to show that they have both the desire and the capability of enforcing effective standards before their plans are approved. At first, I believe, the States thought that in so doing we were trying to avoid turning over this important responsibility to them. I hope we have convinced them that our efforts are intended to help them build the strong State enforcement capability that is necessary to make their State Plan Agreement work. If a State should not do a good job, the agreement would have to be terminated—and we do not want that to happen.

At the present time, we have entered into only two State Plan Agreements—with Arizona and Colorado. We are working with some other States, and we are hopeful that some additional agreements will be made soon.

So far I have talked only about inspection and enforcement, which is the front line of defense against worker disabilities in the mines. However, unless this defense is to become so great and pervasive as to be intolerable in our private enterprise system, it must be supplemented and backed up with effective education and training, research and development, and strong mine health and safety management and supervision.

There is not much the Bureau of Mines can do to improve health and safety management and supervision in the mines except to point out, as I have done earlier, how vital it is for mine management to meet this responsibility on its own initiative in order to protect its management prerogatives against further Federal regulation. We also provide health and safety training for supervisors as well as mine workers and for persons desiring to become mine workers. In addition to providing courses in first aid, safe working practices, and survival and rescue techniques, we are also trying harder than ever before to motivate miners to be safe. It is not enough for a miner to know how to

AN ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.
REPUBLICAN LEADER, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

AT THE NLI 26th ANNUAL CONVENTION

TUESDAY, JANUARY 26, 1971

Thank you very much, Armen. Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. It's a great privilege and very high honor to participate in this program. I might say, parenthetically, that one of the nice things about attending meetings such as this is meeting old friends and reminiscing about acquaintanceships. Seeing Hank, here, brought back many, many fine memories. I must admit we agreed that the campaign in the Pacific in World War II was shortened considerably by our joint efforts.

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Then I indicated that one of my favorite musical comedies was "Oklahoma." I'm sure that is shared by many, many people in this audience. I remarked that as I was shaving the day of the Speakership contest, I was humming to myself one of the superb songs from "Oklahoma." The words came out this way, "Oh, what a beautiful morning; oh, what a beautiful day; if I had forty more votes in my pocket; things would be going my way."

The mention of elections reminds me of another election back in 1966. On that occasion, we, on our side of the aisle, did considerably better. We succeeded

in electing fifty-nine new Republicans, a net gain of forty-seven. Prior to the convening of the Congress in January of 1967, I thought it would be a great idea if we could get all of the newly elected Republicans and their wives together with the leadership and our wives at a conference center just outside of Washington, D. C., called Airlie House. There we could talk about parliamentary problems and legislative matters. And in the course of a two day get-together, we could become better acquainted with one another.

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In the last Congress, which was controlled by one political party whereas the White House was controlled by the other, a careful analysis of the record indicates that in 1969 and 1970 the Congress approved approximately 75 per cent of what President Nixon recommended. That's an extremely high percentage. If you compare this with the record of previous Congresses in the last decade, you find that the last Congress--despite the fact that we had a divided government--responded in a meaningful way to the legislative proposals recommended by the President.

On the other hand, some things were left undone, and one of the reasons I was late coming to the luncheon this noon was that President Nixon sent to the Congress today a message that I have in my hand. I won't give you the details, but it recites thirty-six proposals submitted in the last two years that were not acted upon. I'm confident that as we move ahead in this Congress, the left-overs will in the main be approved by the new House and by the Senate.

One of the hallmarks of success of the last Congress was the eventual approval of a strong anti-crime package. In 1969 and 1970 the President submitted a very broad based anti-crime program, some thirteen bills. After some delay, all or most of those proposals were approved in one form or another. They were approved not only because of the President's interest, but because fighting crime has become a matter of major importance and the greatest urgency.

We now have on the statute books, for example, a greatly expanded Safe Streets Act. Under this Act the Federal Government makes financial contributions to the State and Local Governments, so that the work of State and Local law enforcement agencies can be improved. The level of aid in this legislation, which was enacted in 1967, has been expanded by almost 300 per cent. In the first year of its operation, some 67 million dollars was passed on to State and Local agencies for law enforcement improvement. For fiscal 1972, the President has recommended \$698.4 million. In order to undertake massive and effective action against organized crime, the Department of Justice needed new tools to meet the challenge of the most sophisticated criminal element in our society. Congress finally has passed that legislation. Now I'm confident we will begin to see meaningful results against this sinister element in our society.

We're all cognizant of the rising problem of drugs and narcotics. This is an area of law enforcement where we have responsibility divided between the Local Level, the State and the Federal Government. Federal legislation in this area, up until last year, was somewhat outmoded. The President recommended, and the Congress finally approved, a drug abuse control law. It has some strengthening provisions. It provides harsher penalties for the professional pusher and peddler. It provides greater flexibility in sentencing the initial user, particularly the young. It emphasizes rehabilitation for those in that category. And it takes out of the Department of Justice the responsibility for drug abuse education and rehabilitation, as it should. It transfers these two responsibilities to the Department of HEW. This is good, strong legislation. And I think the Federal Government's role as a consequence will be strengthened.

Now let me point out where you can see a direct correlation between a President's recommendation, approved by the Congress, and the result. Last year, after a long, long hard fight, we passed showcase anti-crime legislation for the District of Columbia. It's tough, don't let me mislead you. It has some strong provisions that were fought by well-intentioned, but I think ill-advised, individuals. That legislation has contributed significantly, I think, to the announcement you may have seen in the newspaper this morning. In the District of Columbia in 1970, for the first time in a decade or more, the crime rate in the city went down rather than up. What I'm saying is that there is a direct correlation between what a legislative body does and what can be accomplished in our society. Here's concrete evidence. I'm the last to say that this decrease in the crime rate is the exclusive result of this particular action by the Congress. However, I can assure you that the fact the Congress passed a tough anti-crime bill did have an impact on those who, over a period of ten years, have continuously and unceasingly violated the rights of others in the District of Columbia. I hope and trust that the other anti-crime legislation I have mentioned has a broad impact nationwide, and will have the same results in your state and in mine.

Now, if I might, I'd like to return for a minute to the programs and problems that the new Congress faces. I'll never forget the first day I came to Congress, in January of 1949. I had been a renegade. I had committed what, in many areas of politics, is an unforgivable sin. I had run against a ten-year incumbent in the Republican primary. He was somewhat older than I, and I had just gotten out of the service. I probably had more courage than brains, but nevertheless, I ran against this GOP incumbent and I won. So I came to Congress in a delegation from Michigan that had many senior members. I was apprehensive. I walked into the House Chamber and I sat down by one of our most senior Republicans from Michigan, concerned about how I would be welcomed. He was a wonderful, kindly gentleman, for whom I had nothing but the greatest admiration. I said "Good Morning." He turned to me and he said, "Jerry, do you know the definition of a Congressman?" I said, "No." He said, "A Congressman is the shortest distance between two ears." Well, I've survived a few of those cracks. But believe me, the fact that a congressman has to go back and face the voters every two years is one of the strengths of our Federal Government. I would be the last to vote for any change in the term of a congressman. Sure, it would be more convenient to run every four years rather than every two years, but I am not concerned about what's convenient for me or 434 other Members of the House. If the term is changed from two to four

years, it cuts in half the opportunity the voters have to make a change in their government. It is more important that the voters retain that right than that someone be concerned about the convenience of 435 members of the House of Representatives.

Now we turn to a new Congress, with the President in the second half of his four-year term. And the tone of what we'll be facing is best indicated by what the President recommended in his State of the Union message last Friday night. As you know, he said he would not discuss foreign policy on that occasion, but that he would make a subsequent report to the Congress. Total emphasis was on our domestic problems and what he felt he, as President, should ask the Congress to do--chart some new courses, new programs, in the next two years.

First on the list of six was a renewed call for welfare reform. You may recall the House of Representatives last year passed a welfare reform bill by an overwhelming margin. The version that we passed got caught in a legislative snarl in the Senate in the dying days last year. I know it's a controversial proposition, and I know that many good people have many questions about the so-called workfare program. But let me ask you, in all sincerity, this question. Is there a person in this room who will stand up and defend the present welfare program? I've asked that question in fifty states, and I have yet to find a person who will defend the present welfare program, and for a good reason. It's getting ever more costly, and the costs which we see today are virtually double what they were a few years ago. According to projections by the so-called experts, they will double again.

So the present system is not only costly from the point of view of the taxpayer, but it has another feature that is totally un-American. It tears families apart. Financially, it's better for families to be divided under the present welfare system, and there is no incentive for a family to extricate themselves from welfare. In fact, there's a deterrent. So, if these points are true, and I doubt if many people will argue to the contrary, shouldn't we do something affirmatively about the welfare mess? Shouldn't we get rid of it? Shouldn't we devise a program that will provide an incentive for work, provide an incentive for a family to extricate themselves from the welfare cycle--as the President's program does? Shouldn't we have, within the structure of the law, an incentive for families to stay together, not to separate--as the President's program does? And shouldn't we try to at least level out the cost of the program?

It is obvious we have to do something affirmatively. Maybe there's a better answer than what the President has recommended, but I've seen no one propose it.

So, let's be innovative, imaginative, and try something that has a work incentive, that requires a person to work before he gets any assistance, if he's physically able to do so. Shouldn't we try something that stabilizes the family rather than tearing it apart? I think the Congress will respond. I applaud not only what the House did last year, but what I think the House and the Senate will do in 1971 and '72.

Another point in the President's message last night was the budget that the President is submitting on Friday. I haven't seen it, so I'm not qualified to talk about the details. But from everything that I've heard, I can say, one, it provides for no new Federal taxes. Secondly, it is a budget that will emphasize a continued effort to decrease the rate of increase in the cost of living. It is a budget that will perhaps shock some people. But I believe that when you look at the cyclical impact, where we are expanding our efforts to improve the economy, we can expect a deficit larger than I and many others believe in. But if we get full employment, as is anticipated, then that deficit will be eliminated.

Let us talk about the third point in the President's message. I speak here of revenue sharing. This is an extremely controversial proposal. Some of my best friends in the Congress, both Republicans and Democrats, do not share the President's view. I happen to believe in it. Revenue sharing is an idea whose time has come. I was reading the paper the other day, and I noticed that the newly elected Democratic governor of Pennsylvania has said his state is on the verge of bankruptcy. I have read other papers throughout the country quoting one Mayor after another as saying that his community is nearly bankrupt. This is understandable. The States and local governing units have just about reached the breaking point on local and state taxes. Yet the demand for services continues. I'm not saying that states and local governments now should turn to the Federal Government on the basis that Uncle Sam has an unlimited reservoir of dollars. That's not true. But the fact is that the Federal tax system is so structured that as the Nation grows, and as we employ more and more people, Federal revenue grows rapidly. State and local governments don't have that growth factor in their tax structures. And so as the economy expands there is a growth in Federal revenue from 4 to 8 billion dollars a year without any increase in Federal tax rates. So it is the view of many experts in this area that some of this money should be returned to the states and local governments. And so at the state and local level decisions can be made as to the priority of programs or projects needed at that particular level.

Under the present system, the federal government expends vast amounts of money for local and state needs under categorical grant programs. Categorical grants started 10 or 15 years ago in a very small way. I think the first year the amount of money Uncle Sam passed out to local and state governments was under half a billion dollars a year and there were less than 100 programs. But categorical programs have grown like Topsy. Today the Federal Government passes out to state and local governments about 30 billion dollars a year in over 500 categorical grant programs. What it means is that the federal establishment to a substantial degree is making important decisions at the local level. I happen to think that local officials in San Diego know the problems of San Diego and its priorities infinitely better than someone here in Washington. Certainly the priorities in Grand Rapids, Michigan, my home town, are different from those in San Diego, and the local elected officials ought to have some responsibilities for determining those priorities.

Under the President's program of revenue sharing, 5 billion dollars a year would be divided among the states and the local communities on a formula based on population and the tax effort of those states. It would grow over a period of years as the economy expanded and the tax take increased. In my judgment, this is good legislation. It will help to relieve the problem of high real estate taxes in the local communities. It will obviate the need for the states to add to their tax burden. And it will not add to the tax burden at the Federal level. I think there are substantial advantages to the program, apart from decision making at the local level.

The fourth point in the President's program is of maximum importance. The new programs that will be submitted to improve our environment have not been delineated because a message will be coming to the Congress with the specifics within the next week or so. We had a briefing yesterday at the White House, and I can say that they're broad, they're new, and they are going to be firm. So the Federal government, to the degree that it is involved in terms of money, regulations, and research, will have a good environmental program.

Health, point number five, in the President's State of the Union message, was highlighted by a presidential request for an additional 100 million dollars to expand the fight against cancer. We have a number of wonderful National Institutes of Health; Arthritis, Mental Health, Cancer, etc. They're superb organizations. They do a great job, and we've been spending close to a billion dollars a year in the whole group over the last several years. But the families of many have been

touched by the tragedy of cancer. In Washington one of the great citizens of the community and of the country, Vince Lombardi, died in the last six months. This 100 million dollars is not insurance that cancer will be licked, but it will be licked, but it will be about a 70 per cent increase in federal research directed at finding the answer. I'm confident that in this area, as in the area of polio, with adequate funds and sufficient technical people we will find an answer that will eliminate cancer as a scourge of our society.

The last presidential proposal, which is probably the most controversial, is the restructuring of the Federal Government. We now have 11 cabinet posts. The President's proposal is to go from 11 to seven, and to shift many, many agencies into four new cabinet departments. This is controversial. But let me just make this observation. We've had two Hoover Commissions which recommended that departments be revised, that changes be made. President Johnson appointed the so-called Heinemann Commission which was supposed to take a look at the structure of the Federal Government. The Heinemann Commission recommended reorganization of the Executive Branch much along the lines proposed by the Ash Commission, which President Nixon appointed. These recommendations provide for substantial change in the organizational structure of our government. There are many who will be in opposition. I don't know the attitude of this organization. But I say that it might be wise, before you make a decision, to wait and see the specifics, because you might be far better off under the proposed set-up as an organization, as individuals, than under the existing. No government should be satisfied with the status-quo. Governments never progress and meet the needs of their people if they do business in the same way from time in memoriam. I say to you, be open minded until you've seen the specifics. When you have, you might well be more pleased than with the present system.

I close with these final observations. I know that many people believe government is an ogre--that there is great dissatisfaction with our government at the local, state, and federal levels. But I happen to be an optimist. I believe our form of government can be responsive to the new decade, and can be responsive to the needs of 204 million people.

When I speak like this, I often recall a statement that was attributed to Sir Winston Churchill. Churchill is reputed to have said: "Democracy is the worst form of government in the history of mankind, but it is better than any other that's ever been tried." Then there was an incident that occurred at the time of the Constitutional Convention in the City of Philadelphia. Some fifty-five delegates from twelve of the thirteen colonies met in the City of Philadelphia to

put together a constitution for a new country. And after much deliberation and many compromises they finally concluded their labors with a governmental document which is the greatest in the history of mankind. As Ben Franklin walked out of Constitution Hall, a by-stander asked him: "Mr. Franklin, what have you given us, a monarchy or a republic?" And Franklin responded, "We have given you a republic if you can keep it."

Your forefathers and mine have kept a republic for us for almost two centuries. They've passed on to us a better society and a better government. We should be thankful; we should be grateful, blessed as we are with what we have.

I say now it's our responsibility, yours and mine, and the responsibility of millions like us throughout the country, to make sure that what we have inherited is passed on to those who follow and in better form than we received it from our forefathers. I know we can. I know we will. Thank you very much.

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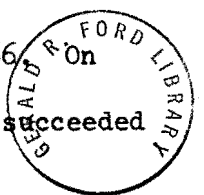
AN ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.
REPUBLICAN LEADER, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
AT THE NLI 26th ANNUAL CONVENTION
TUESDAY, JANUARY 26, 1971

Thank you very much, Armen. Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. It's a great privilege and very high honor to participate in this program. I might say, parenthetically, that one of the nice things about attending meetings such as this is meeting old friends and reminiscing about acquaintanceships. Seeing Hank, here, brought back many, many fine memories. I must admit we agreed that the campaign in the Pacific in World War II was shortened considerably by our joint efforts.

As all of you know, a new Congress was elected in November, and the new 92nd Congress convened last Thursday. You may or may not know that in the process of organizing the House of Representatives we go through a ritual where the minority party nominates its candidate for Speaker, and the majority Party nominates its candidate. Of course, the decision as to who will be Speaker is really made by the American people, months before. But this ceremony does take place. Also, one of the traditions on the opening day of Congress is that the minority party's candidate for Speaker has the privilege, and it is a privilege, of introducing to the other members of the House the winner of the Speakership contest. I had the privilege of doing that three times for former Speaker McCormack, and I had the honor last Thursday of doing it for our new Speaker, Carl Albert of Oklahoma. In the course of my remarks, I naturally praised Carl Albert, for whom I have nothing but the highest respect and admiration. But I thought it might be interesting to interject a little humor. So in the statement of introduction I said that I had checked the records of history, and that, although we had had forty-eight other Speakers in our history--from Massachusetts, Illinois, Tennessee and other states--I found that there had never before been a Speaker from Bug Tussle, Oklahoma.

Then I indicated that one of my favorite musical comedies was "Oklahoma." I'm sure that is shared by many, many people in this audience. I remarked that as I was shaving the day of the Speakership contest, I was humming to myself one of the superb songs from "Oklahoma." The words came out this way, "Oh, what a beautiful morning; oh, what a beautiful day; if I had forty more votes in my pocket; things would be going my way."

The mention of elections reminds me of another election back in 1966 that occasion, we, on our side of the aisle, did considerably better. We succeeded



in electing fifty-nine new Republicans, a net gain of forty-seven. Prior to the convening of the Congress in January of 1967, I thought it would be a great idea if we could get all of the newly elected Republicans and their wives together with the leadership and our wives at a conference center just outside of Washington, D. C., called Airlie House. There we could talk about parliamentary problems and legislative matters. And in the course of a two day get-together, we could become better acquainted with one another.

We convened at Airlie House, and at the opening luncheon, I was asked to say a few words. After spending 1965 and 1966 outnumbered 285 to 140, I was delighted to see such a substantial increase in numbers on our side of the aisle. As I looked out and saw these fifty-nine new Republicans, attractive, articulate, and able, I gave the impression I was happily clucking over my new brood. The next morning I got up bright and early, and went down to breakfast. As I walked into the dining room, somebody handed me a copy of the New York Times. I quote literally from the front page story on our Republican meeting, the lead article, first sentence which said, "Congressman Jerry Ford, House Republican Leader, was happily clucking over his new brood." Well, I thought it was amusing that a great newspaper like the New York Times could make a simple typographical error of that kind. But I passed it off by kidding the correspondent for the New York Times, and went on about my business. When my wife, Betty, came down for a late cup of coffee and a sweet roll, she walked into the dining room and some friend of mine immediately showed her the front page story in the New York Times. I conclude by saying that I have yet to satisfactorily explain who that new brood is.

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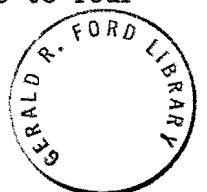
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First on the list of six was a renewed call for welfare reform. You may recall the House of Representatives last year passed a welfare reform bill by an overwhelming margin. The version that we passed got caught in a legislative snarl in the Senate in the dying days last year. I know it's a controversial proposition, and I know that many good people have many questions about the so-called workfare program. But let me ask you, in all sincerity, this question. Is there a person in this room who will stand up and defend the present welfare program? I've asked that question in fifty states, and I have yet to find a person who will defend the present welfare program, and for a good reason. It's getting ever more costly, and the costs which we see today are virtually double what they were a few years ago. According to projections by the so-called experts, they will double again.

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Another point in the President's message last night was the budget that the President is submitting on Friday. I haven't seen it, so I'm not qualified to talk about the details. But from everything that I've heard, I can say, one, it provides for no new Federal taxes. Secondly, it is a budget that will emphasize a continued effort to decrease the rate of increase in the cost of living. It is a budget that will perhaps shock some people. But I believe that when you look at the cyclical impact, where we are expanding our efforts to improve the economy, we can expect a deficit larger than I and many others believe in. But if we get full employment, as is anticipated, then that deficit will be eliminated.

Let us talk about the third point in the President's message. I speak here of revenue sharing. This is an extremely controversial proposal. Some of my best friends in the Congress, both Republicans and Democrats, do not share the President's view. I happen to believe in it. Revenue sharing is an idea whose time has come. I was reading the paper the other day, and I noticed that the newly elected Democratic governor of Pennsylvania has said his state is on the verge of bankruptcy. I have read other papers throughout the country quoting one Mayor after another as saying that his community is nearly bankrupt. This is understandable. The States and local governing units have just about reached the breaking point on local and state taxes. Yet the demand for services continues. I'm not saying that states and local governments now should turn to the Federal Government on the basis that Uncle Sam has an unlimited reservoir of dollars. That's not true. But the fact is that the Federal tax system is so structured that as the Nation grows, and as we employ more and more people, Federal revenue grows rapidly. State and local governments don't have that growth factor in their tax structures. And so as the economy expands there is a growth in Federal revenue from 4 to 8 billion dollars a year without any increase in Federal tax rates. So it is the view of many experts in this area that some of this money should be returned to the states and local governments. And so at the state and local level decisions can be made as to the priority of programs or projects needed at that particular level.

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Under the President's program of revenue sharing, 5 billion dollars a year would be divided among the states and the local communities on a formula based on population and the tax effort of those states. It would grow over a period of years as the economy expanded and the tax take increased. In my judgment, this is good legislation. It will help to relieve the problem of high real estate taxes in the local communities. It will obviate the need for the states to add to their tax burden. And it will not add to the tax burden at the Federal level. I think there are substantial advantages to the program, apart from decision making at the local level.

The fourth point in the President's program is of maximum importance. The new programs that will be submitted to improve our environment have not been delineated because a message will be coming to the Congress with the specifics within the next week or so. We had a briefing yesterday at the White House, and I can say that they're broad, they're new, and they are going to be firm. So the Federal government, to the degree that it is involved in terms of money, regulations, and research, will have a good environmental program.

Health, point number five, in the President's State of the Union message, was highlighted by a presidential request for an additional 100 million dollars to expand the fight against cancer. We have a number of wonderful National Institutes of Health; Arthritis, Mental Health, Cancer, etc. They're superb organizations. They do a great job, and we've been spending close to a billion dollars a year in the whole group over the last several years. But the families of many have been



touched by the tragedy of cancer. In Washington one of the great citizens of the community and of the country, Vince Lombardi, died in the last six months. This 100 million dollars is not insurance that cancer will be licked, but it will be licked, but it will be about a 70 per cent increase in federal research directed at finding the answer. I'm confident that in this area, as in the area of polio, with adequate funds and sufficient technical people we will find an answer that will eliminate cancer as a scourge of our society.

The last presidential proposal, which is probably the most controversial, is the restructuring of the Federal Government. We now have 11 cabinet posts. The President's proposal is to go from 11 to seven, and to shift many, many agencies into four new cabinet departments. This is controversial. But let me just make this observation. We've had two Hoover Commissions which recommended that departments be revised, that changes be made. President Johnson appointed the so-called Heinemann Commission which was supposed to take a look at the structure of the Federal Government. The Heinemann Commission recommended reorganization of the Executive Branch much along the lines proposed by the Ash Commission, which President Nixon appointed. These recommendations provide for substantial change in the organizational structure of our government. There are many who will be in opposition. I don't know the attitude of this organization. But I say that it might be wise, before you make a decision, to wait and see the specifics, because you might be far better off under the proposed set-up as an organization, as individuals, than under the existing. No government should be satisfied with the status-quo. Governments never progress and meet the needs of their people if they do business in the same way from time in memoriam. I say to you, be open minded until you've seen the specifics. When you have, you might well be more pleased than with the present system.

I close with these final observations. I know that many people believe government is an ogre--that there is great dissatisfaction with our government at the local, state, and federal levels. But I happen to be an optimist. I believe our form of government can be responsive to the new decade, and can be responsive to the needs of 204 million people.

When I speak like this, I often recall a statement that was attributed to Sir Winston Churchill. Churchill is reputed to have said: "Democracy is the worst form of government in the history of mankind, but it is better than any other that's ever been tried." Then there was an incident that occurred at the time of the Constitutional Convention in the City of Philadelphia. Some fifty-five delegates from twelve of the thirteen colonies met in the City of Philadelphia to

put together a constitution for a new country. And after much deliberation and many compromises they finally concluded their labors with a governmental document which is the greatest in the history of mankind. As Ben Franklin walked out of Constitution Hall, a by-stander asked him: "Mr. Franklin, what have you given us, a monarchy or a republic?" And Franklin responded, "We have given you a republic if you can keep it."

Your forefathers and mine have kept a republic for us for almost two centuries. They've passed on to us a better society and a better government. We should be thankful; we should be grateful, blessed as we are with what we have.

I say now it's our responsibility, yours and mine, and the responsibility of millions like us throughout the country, to make sure that what we have inherited is passed on to those who follow and in better form than we received it from our forefathers. I know we can. I know we will. Thank you very much.

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